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FROM	Chief of Base, Munich	DATE	2 May 1960
SUBJECT	REDWOOD/LOIMPROVE/AEDOGMA/Operations AEDOGMA-1 Investigation of Death of Stefan BANDERA	RE: "43-3" - (CHECK "X" ONE)	
		<input type="checkbox"/> MARKED FOR INDEXING	
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
ACTION REQUIRED	None; for your information.	XX	INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY
REFERENCE(S)	MUNI 7994, dated January 1960		

DESENSITIZED
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1. AEDOGMA-1 was sent to Munich for TDY and spent several months in late 1959 investigating the death of Stefan BANDERA. Due to an illness which cropped up during the course of this TDY, he submitted an 18-page report on 23 December 1959 which summarizes his findings in the matter. This report is forwarded as Attachment A. He told the undersigned, as indicated in the reference, that he would write up a complete report of his investigation when he returned to Paris. As he was about to return to Paris in early January 1960, he submitted three supplementary reports on the death of BANDERA. These reports accompany this dispatch as Attachments B-D.

2. In essence, AEDOGMA-1 became convinced, as the result of his investigations, that BANDERA committed suicide. His convictions became even stronger following two interviews (10 and 17 December 1959) at his apartment with Adrian FUCHS of the Munich Kripo political investigations squad (these contacts are described in Attachment A). In his first contact with AEDOGMA-1, FUCHS told AEDOGMA-1 that, in the course of his interviews with about 100 BANDERites and other Ukrainian emigrés, some one passed AEDOGMA-1's name as an emigre who possibly might know something about the matter. In his second and last contact with AEDOGMA-1, he said that an unidentified BANDERite identified ("denounced" was the word used by AEDOGMA-1) AEDOGMA-1 as the ZCh/OUN member (sic) who was appointed to take charge of the ZCh/OUN organizational commission to investigate BANDERA's death and that Volodymyr DEYCHAKIVSKIY was AEDOGMA-1's aide. DEYCHAKIVSKIY is described by AEDOGMA-1 as a former SB (Bandera's Security Service) member who lives permanently in Canada and who remained in Munich from the date he came to Munich to attend BANDERA's funeral (it is unknown if DEYCHAKIVSKIY since has returned to Canada).

Approved by

Attachments:
A-D - Reports, herewith

Distribution:
2 C/SR with attachments
1 C/EE w/o "
1 C/WE w/o "
2 COS/G w/c "
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attach A to Egma-48874
2 July 1960
14 July 1960

Translation

DELIVING BEHIND THE SCENES OF THE DEATH OF STEFAN BANDERA

"Stefan Bandera, who participated in the Lvov crimes, was poisoned 15 October by potassium cyanide. This fact was established after an autopsy by the Munich institute of forensic medicine."

BERLINER ZEITUNG
20 October 1959

The foregoing is how Soviet journalist Walter Belayev begins his article under the title of "The Concealed Always Becomes Evident" which was published in the newspaper, FOR RETURN TO THE HOMETLAND (Ukrainian-language edition) issue No. 82/371, October 1959, page 4. The sudden death of the leader of the Zch/OUN/B, on 15 October 1959, as a result of potassium cyanide poisoning, as might be expected, started a lot of speculation regarding the causes of this incident. The various versions, which in the beginning were very obscure, later became somewhat more concrete and even plausible.

Having arrived in Munich almost a month after the death of S. Bandera, at the invitation of the SB chief, Ivan Kashuba, for the purpose of "privately investigating this affair," I heard the following more or less logical versions.

1. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Gehlen's German security organization at the request of the Minister for Refugee Affairs, Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberlander, former participant in the Lvov murders.

2. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by the Communist because he maintained contacts with the Ukraine and until his very end led the liberation struggle in the Ukraine.

This story had two different angles:

- a. The potassium cyanide was forced on Bandera in the elevator in the building where he lived, and,
 - b. The cyanide was in some manner given to Bandera by one of his closest associates who was a Communist agent.
3. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by one time chief of the SB, Myron Matviyenko, who supposedly had been in Germany for the past six weeks and with whom S. Bandera was reported to have secretly met.

4. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by his former associate and present strong political opponent Mykola Lebed

5. Stefan Bandera committed suicide by taking cyanide.

Each of these versions had some plausibility and at first there was so much basis for each one that it was possible to accept any one version as the truth.

Let us now examine them more carefully.

1. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Gehlen's group at the specific direction of Prof. Dr. Oberlaender.

This is the Communist version which was not only widely publicized in the USSR and all the satellite countries, but also in the Communist and pro-Communist circles in the West.

In order to know why the Communist spread this version, it is necessary to look into the political happenings of at least the past year. As early as late 1958 and early 1959, the Soviet press in addition the newspaper, FOR RETURN TO THE HOMELAND, started an extensive provocation against the Ukrainian legion WACHTIGAL which, according to the Soviet press, was composed mostly of members of the OUN and was organized

at the request of Stefan Bandera in collaboration with German counterintelligence, and committed mass murders of Polish intelligentsia in Lvov in June of 1941. In the early articles regarding the NACHTIGAL there was no mention made of Prof. Theodore Oberlaender. The articles were about Bandera, Shukhevich, Hrynoich and others, but exclusively ^{about} Ukrainians. In the meantime, in the spring of 1959, in addition to the earlier version about the crimes in Lvov, former lieutenant and present German Minister for Refugees, Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberlaender, was mentioned as a "politruk" and "Nachtigalist" who, according to the Soviets, was responsible for the murders of Polish intelligentsia in Lvov, although the murders were actually committed by individual legionnaires. The Communists must have brought Oberlaender into the picture for the following reasons: During 1959 the Communist started to put pressures on the Bonn Government to establish diplomatic ties with satellite countries, and especially with Poland and Czechoslovakia. Protests against such ties were made by so-called Landsmannschaften from Poland and Czechoslovakia, and by Prof. Oberlaender as Minister for Refugee Affairs. The Bonn Government joined their protests. Therefore the Communists were determined to do away with Oberlaender and started their pressures against him, blaming him for the murders in Lvov.

The Communist agitators were successful also in getting articles against Prof. Oberlaender into the West German press, DIE TAT, 23 September 1959. Undoubtedly also under the influence of Communist agents, on 25 September 1959, the FFN Organization of those persecuted by the Nazi regime (Communist control), brought formal prosecution into Bonn courts against Oberlaender, requesting investigation into his case. In addition, the left wing, socialist press also joined this movement.

However, all attacks made against Prof. Oberlaender were always made in connection with the Ukrainian nationalist legion NACHTIGAL.

Suddenly Bandera dies, and immediately there is the story that he was poisoned under specific orders from Oberlaender who, it is said, wanted to get rid of an inconvenient witness, insofar as he (Oberlaender) was concerned. According to the Soviet Press, Bandera as a participant in the murders in Lvov, would have been able to testify against Oberlaender.

The Communist version is primitive and does not stand up against criticism because: If Bandera was a participant in the Lvov murders, or more specifically the NACHTIGAL, which was organized at his request, then it is clear that he could only have defended Prof. Oberlaender in order to protect himself. Logic would indicate otherwise; i.e., the KGB wanted to do away with Bandera who would have been able to testify in defense of Prof. Oberlaender. In defense of the Soviet version, we have a somewhat obscure coincidence. Since the middle of September German investigative forces (it is still not clear whether they were Gehlen people or the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz) were talking about meeting with Stefan Bandera. As a result such a meeting did take place on 14 October 1959 in the Bayerischer Hof in Munich. There were three German intelligence men whose names are not known to me. The following from the Zch/OUN were present: Stefan Bandera, Yaroslav Bentsal, General Secretary of the Zch/OUN and Dr. Vas'kovych.

The conversation concerned the cooperation of the Zch/OUN with German intelligence, financial subsidy by the Germans, and in particular about the continuation of Zch/OUN ties with the Homeland. The Germans accepted all the suggestions made by the Zch/OUN and promised all sorts of aid. Stefan Bandera was very satisfied with the results of the talks.

The organizer of this meeting was Yaroslav Bentsal who maintains liaison between the Zch/OUN and the Germans. Zenon Pelensky also was supposed to have played a role in this meeting, or at least he had been well informed about the meeting.

The meeting ended about 24 hours before Bandera died with a dinner at the Bayerischer. All those present ordered ~~from~~^{the} the menus but Stefan Bandera ordered cocoa instead of coffee.

The question arises whether the Soviets knew about this meeting in advance and therefore altered their version of the story on the death of Bandera to coincide with this? Was there a Soviet agent present among the German participants? Did the Soviets learn about the meeting only after the fact, and did they independently announce their own version of the event of Bandera's death? The fact is that the Soviet version takes on a new meaning for those who were present during the German-Ukrainian meeting.

German criminologists ~~discovered~~^{not} any possibility for the cyanide poisoning of Bandera during the dinner, either by the German participants or by any of the hotel waiters or kitchen help.

I am not a chemist, and therefore it is difficult for me to say whether it is possible for potassium cyanide in capsule form to become effective only after 24 hours. In answer to my question whether the Zch/OUN had complete trust in the Germans who participated in the meeting, the Zch/OUN/SE chief stated that they have absolute trust in two of the individuals but there can be some reservations insofar as the third was concerned. (He--the third man--lives in Munich and considers himself a specialist in Ukrainian affairs.) He was the one who requested such a meeting be held.

As I learned after I started to write this report, there were only two German intelligence men present at the meeting, and not three as Kashuba had told me. This means that either Kashuba did not know how many Germans were present or he purposely gave me false information. A. F.-c, the German political criminal police commissioner,

assured me that after investigation of the above-mentioned Germans, the criminal police completely excluded them from having anything to do with Bandera's death. Besides that, a cyanide capsule would have become effective much sooner than 24 hours later. Therefore, the Soviet account will not stand up to the criminal police investigation report. I personally am of the same opinion.

Now let us go to the second version. Stefan Bandera was poisoned by Soviet agents. There are two versions to this account:

- a. Soviet agents forced the capsule on Bandera on the stairs of his home, and
- b. one of Bandera's close associates from the Zch/OUN gave him the potassium cyanide in the form of candy or fruit.

The first version was the one most speculated on by the Banderites. They even talked about two individuals who were supposed to have gotten out of the elevator just about the time of Bandera's death and run away. The Banderites even stated that two such individuals were seen to have been acting as if they were surveilling Bandera during the last few days before his death, even when he drove out to the woods to pick mushrooms. According to the police, however, there was no evidence found (after questioning residents and neighbors) of two men leaving the premises at the time of Bandera's death and there were no signs of violence found on Bandera's body. A neighbor of Bandera stated that he didn't hear any noises or footsteps other than Bandera's. Also, according to the neighbor, there were no signs that the elevator had been in use at that particular time.

The basket of fruit which stood beside Bandera's body witnessed the fact that he had carefully set it down. This basket would have fallen to the ground and the fruit would have been scattered if there had been any struggle.

The German criminal police experts state that there was no act of violence on the stairs. This also was my humble opinion after I had gathered the facts. This version was idly spread by the Banderites on the first and second days following Bandera's death and they took up various details during the funeral service.

The second version is that Bandera was poisoned by KGB agents in the Zch/OUN by giving the potassium cyanide to Bandera either in some candy or fruit. This version was from the very beginning denied by the Banderites but, at the same time, most thoroughly investigated by the German police and by me personally.

In order to better understand this version it is necessary to consider the following facts. On the morning of 15 October 1959, about ten minutes to eight, Vasil Ninov's'ky (true name Skozdra), one of the SB guards, waited by the home of Steian Bandera. Five minutes to eight Bandera left his home, walked over to the garage and drove out with his car to Zeppelinstrasse. Vasil Ninov's'ky escorted him all the way to the gate. They entered the building together and Bandera went into his office while Ninov's'ky went to the printer's shop where SHLACH PEREMOHY was already being assembled. About nine o'clock all the other members began to arrive. Whether anybody entered Bandera's office between eight and nine has not been determined. It seems like no one did. This means Bandera was there alone. Between the hours of nine and 11:30, the following people entered his office:

1. Yaroslav Bentsal
2. Dr. Gregory Vashkovych
3. Roman Debryts'ky
4. Evhenia Matviyevko: ^{Evhenia} Matviyevko - M'k (who drove off with Bandera about 11:30 to the market place to buy fruit.)

This means that the four above-mentioned individuals could have figured in the murder. The German criminal police and I personally devoted special attention to them.

Let us work with them individually. The past of Mr. Bentsal is not clear. He was director of the Lvov theaters under the communists. This means the communist trusted him. Why? About a year ago he was visited by an old theater friend from Lvov who urged him to return to the homeland. He brought with him a book about ^{Bentalski} Bandera's father whom the communists consider a celebrated artist. Bentsal told the SB about this meeting. The SB planned to have Bentsal meet with the Soviet again in a room where they would install a microphone. However, the courier from Lvov refused to meet in the room, and he talked to Bentsal out on the street where no witnesses were present. Then he returned to Lvov. It is difficult to say whether or not Bentsal told the SB everything that was said during this conversation.

Bentsal's wife, Nadia nee Lototska, is a pharmacist and works in a German apothecary where she has access to potassium cyanide. Theoretically there are possibilities that Bentsal could have been a party to the murder of Bandera. For some reason I excluded this possibility from the very beginning. The fact that the KGB tried to get him to Lvov is not sufficient proof that he would have destroyed Bandera. The KGB couldn't blackmail him because he has no relatives in the homeland. Eventually they could have revealed his role in the theatre but he could have talked his way out of this.

Dr. Gregory Vashkovych: Neither I personally nor the criminal police could find even the slightest probability that he could have been in touch with the KGB.

The same could be said about Roman Debryts'ky. The SB would sooner be willing to say that Roman Debryts'ky could be an American agent rather than a Soviet agent.

Evhenia Matviyeyko - Mak: She was suspected most by the German police and by me. The following were the reasons. My personal reason: Probably nobody beside me knows that Mykhailo Horodests'ky, the brother-in-law of Evhenia Koshulunska - Matviyeyko - Mak, after the arrival of the communists in Lvov in October 1939, was promoted to commandant of the militia in Lvov. He remained in this position until the arrival of the Germans in Lvov in late June or early July 1941. He went to the east together with the NKVD. In 1944 he returned to Lvov and is still there. Mykhailo Horodets'ky is a simple cabinet maker.

In addition, I also took into consideration the fact that Myron Matviyenko has been in KGB hands for some time now. The KGB extracted from him every bit of information which he knew from the date of his birth until his arrival in the Ukraine.

The KGB has been playing with the ZEPPELIN for years. Now they desired, with his (Matviyenko's) help, and more specifically with the help of Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak to destroy Bandera. KGB-Matviyenko couriers got in touch with Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak and instructed her on how to go about doing this. The reward: Matviyenko would live. Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak was the last person to be alone with Bandera. More specifically: Approximately 11:30 Bandera came down to the offices of SHLAKH PEREMOHY and asked Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak to go with him to the market to buy some fruit. She refused three times stating that she wasn't in the mood and that she didn't need anything. Bandera insisted, stating that she should at least go to keep him company. She agreed to go only after the other employees kept urging her.

At the market-hall Bandera bought green tomatoes for pickling, grapes and plums. As was his habit, he tasted all the produce, with the exception of the green tomatoes. Bandera was in a very good mood and when Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak began to express her concern about her husband he boosted her spirits, saying that everything was going to be all right and that Myron Matviyenko, according to his last message, would be in Germany at the latest in 1960.

About 12:30 they returned to Zeppelinstrasse 67. Evhenia Matviyenko-Mak took the bag of walnuts which she purchased and, walking up the stairs, called to Bandera, "Wait a moment, I will tell Vasil Mindy'ky to escort you home." Bandera replied, "By the time Minovs'ky comes down I will be home. I'll be seeing you." He stepped on the gas and drove off. Forty minutes later he dropped dead on the stairs of his home.

What Bandera did during these 40 minutes is hard to say. Everything points to the fact that he was detained someplace for at least 15-20 minutes, because if he drove directly home he would have been there within 20 minutes. One thing points to the fact that Bandera either returned once again to the market or stopped at some store. Evhenia Matviyeyko-Mak states that, in her presence, Bandera did not buy any dill for pickling tomatoes. However, after he died there were five sprigs of dill found in the basket. This means that after arriving at Zeppelinstrasse he purchased the dill someplace. Where? From whom? When?

At my request, the SB drove Bandera's car from Zeppelinstrasse to the market where dill is sold, lingered there for several minutes and drove on to Bandera's home. The entire trip took 20 minutes. This means that if Bandera was at the market, then there still are 20 minutes missing, or let us say 15 or even 10 minutes.

Evhenia Matviyeyko-Mak is capable of anything. But I do not believe that she personally fed cyanide to Bandera. The German police are of the same opinion.

And now let us analyze other aspects.

a. Potassium cyanide is not a weapon the Soviets use in their fight against their political opponents. If it is proven that Bandera was really poisoned by the Soviets then this will be the first time they have used this means.

b. In view of the present political situation, would the Communist try to do away with Bandera (at this time)?

c. Wouldn't the KGB have considered the fact that the death of Bandera would instigate the Ukrainian emigres to mobilize their fight against the Communists in the whole world?

d. Would it not benefit the Communists more to play along with Bandera through Myron Matviyeyko as they have to date?

All these are arguments in the KGB's favor. However, for the sake of objectivity, I will introduce arguments to show that the KGB could have done this.

a. The KGB were so well prepared in their attempt on Bandera's life that they were sure the cause of his death would never be determined. After the first medical investigation, the doctor in the hospital signed a formal statement of death in which he stated that the cause of death was a stroke. This statement is available. The Zch/OUN leadership accepted this statement, as did the wife of Stepan Bandera. Doubts were expressed only some time later.

b. The KGB considered that the game between Matviyeyko and Bandera was ended and, therefore, in consideration of future, more important plans they decided to liquidate Bandera. For some time Bandera had certain doubts about Myron Matviyeyko. He began to suspect KGB control. The British intelligence felt that there was a new hand functioning. In the early summer of this year, Bandera received a completely false reply to a question he sent to Matviyeyko. This awakened in him even further doubts. In connection with this he used the control question which is asked only in cases where enemy control is suspected. In late September of this year a reply was received to this control question. The reply was in every detail in accordance with the original agreement. This satisfied Bandera but it is not known whether the KGB was convinced that KGB control was not suspected. Further, in addition to this reply a request came from Myron Matviyeyko to postpone the conference planned for November until late 1960, and instead to hold a convention of the Zch/OUN with the OUN. Myron Matviyeyko announced that he would arrive, along with representatives from his home country, to this big convention.

Bandera did in fact cancel the planned conference and began to make preparations for the larger convention. Didn't the KGB consider that since Bandera once suspected Myron Matviyeyko to be a communist agent he also would be suspected when he arrived in Germany? In the fight between Bandera and Matviyeyko, Bandera would win. If Bandera were removed from the scene, Matviyeyko would be able to take care of himself, insofar as the others were concerned. Therefore, Bandera should be liquidated before the convention and the battle should be conducted with others who will replace Bandera, someone who is not as refined as Bandera.

Realizing this he requested that when the SB notifies the homeland about Bandera's death, the homeland should be asked whom they would like to have named to replace Bandera. To date, there has been no reply. This reply would clarify a lot for us. There is another question to which I personally find no answer and that is: when and who gave Bandera the poison and in what form. Neither I nor the criminal police can discover the criminal. This version should be completely discarded. It must be pursued, but we will perhaps be able to clarify it only after many years, probably after the expected visit of Matviyeyko to Germany in 1960.

The third version was: Bandera was poisoned by Myron Matviyeyko who had been in Germany since six weeks previous to Bandera's death and with whom Bandera had secret meetings.

There is nothing to justify this version. It probably stems from members of the OUN in the USA. It is pure speculation by the Zch/OUN opponents. This version cannot stand up to criticism nor can the story that Bandera was liquidated by the people of Mykhailo Lebed, his old political opponent.

Stefan Bandera was liquidated by Mykhailo Lebed with the help of his people in Munich: It is difficult to determine who spread this version. At any rate, General Gehlen's group of the German intelligence investigated this possibility. About a week after Bandera died, the informants of this group who are closely connected with Ukrainian political affairs received letters which contained the following message: "In connection with the death of Bandera there are being circulated in Munich more or less plausible stories. One of them is that Bandera was liquidated by his one time colleague and present vigorous political opponent Mykhailo Lebed. In accordance with our information, Lebed heads a group of people in Munich who could accomplish a task of this nature. It is requested that with the exception of his biographic data, you make available to us any information you may have regarding Mykhailo Lebed, especially regarding Lebed's last visit to Germany, whom he met with while here and any other information which would help you to clarify the above-mentioned statement."

There was a p.s. added on the bottom which stated, "how could such a story have originated and who, in your opinion, is behind it?" It was not possible to determine the exact source of this version. It is necessary however to believe that it came from Zch/OUN in revenge for the various stories regarding the

cause of Bandera's death which were being circulated by members of the ZP/UHVR, or more specifically, from Karlsplatz, and which stories did not appeal to the members of the Zch/GUN.

It is not improbable that this version originated with the Soviets who would have liked to take advantage of the situation to instigate political mistrust and misunderstandings among the Ukrainian nationalist emigre groups and prevent these groups from unifying in their reactions to the news that Bandera was liquidated by the "Moscow-Communist enemy." The majority of Gehlen's informants was of the opinion that the above-mentioned version was typical provocation devoid of any sense whatsoever. They felt that it originated with Soviet groups of blind Ukrainian party followers. All of Lebed's people in Munich are well known. There isn't one among them capable of such an act. Even the SB did not suspect them, and besides, Lebed hasn't been in Germany for more than a year. Lebed may have considered Bandera his political opponent, but he never considered him an enemy and nobody uses cyanide in their dealings with their political opponents.

It is difficult to say whether or not Gehlen's group was satisfied with these explanations. At any rate we can be sure that German intelligence and counter-intelligencemen will not take their eyes off Lebed when he shows up in Germany. This will especially be true if the German criminal police are unable to establish definitely whether or not Bandera died as a result of potassium cyanide by another party or by committing suicide, and we can expect it will be impossible to determine the true cause.

Stefan Bandera committed suicide by the use of potassium cyanide. This fifth and final version, according to the facts, is the most logical. The following facts support this version.

(1) Bandera's home life had lately become so unbearable that his only escape could have been suicide. His home life was unbearable for several reasons, the most important were: as a result from some very difficult experience in her life, and the fear of constant surveillance, Bandera's wife had practically lost all of her senses. If it weren't for the fact that she was the wife of the leader of the Zch/OUN she would have been in an insane asylum a year ago. All of Bandera's close friends knew about her situation.

(Translator: the rest of the paragraph talks about Bandera's unsatisfactory sex life, his seeking such diversions outside his home and the resultant uncontrollable jealousy of his wife which lead to fights between them.)

(2) Bandera's wife forbid any of their female friends from visiting their home even when accompanied by their husbands. She looked at everyone as a threat to herself. She forbade their male friends to visit them because Bandera would use the excuse of driving them home as an opportunity to get out for some fun. In the past two years Stefan Bandera lived through such hell that it was difficult for anyone to imagine. He used every available opportunity to get away from home. He was always at work at 7:30, or the latest at 8, while all other employees report to work at 9. All the others went home at 1700 while he remained alone with his troubled thoughts until 2200 or 2300, and at times he didn't leave for home until midnight. His wife would telephone him a dozen times to be sure he was actually at work. His wife made all sorts of accusations against him even in front of the children. The daughters favored their mother and the son favored Bandera. These violent scenes made a very strong impression on the children. Bandera could find no way out of this situation. During these

won't be how many
more times like
this threat? *D*

quarrels he always threatened suicide. His wife would reply, "the quicker you do, the better it will be for all of us," and then she usually added, "but you are too ~~important~~ *much of a coward (no pye)* to commit suicide."

(3) Bandera's wife purposely compromised his every move. She made him appear without any character, a despot, a sadist, a liar, amoral and ~~unpleasant~~ *(H. Ehrenlich) dishonorable*. There were times when Bandera brought several friends "his guards" along with him whom Mrs. Bandera didn't personally know. During such times she would treat them so rudely that he would try to get them to leave as soon as possible. (here the author gives specific examples of some of the things she used to do.) Bandera, who considered himself a hero, and perhaps he was one, and an individual who enjoyed the respect of the organized masses and to whom he was a "god", had to bear the slander and accusations made by his wife who saw him only as a human being, her husband and the father of her children. This was more than he could stand. The people who were acquainted with this situation felt that these tortures (for which he often was personally to blame) were so horrible that any normal individual would have committed suicide long ago.

Bandera faced the problem of either committing his wife to an insane asylum or getting a divorce. He felt that in either case his wife would seek revenge by telling more tales about him. This unhappy, not normal situation turned Bandera into a bundle of nerves. He suffered several headaches which affected his heart. He was also troubled by rheumatism. He lay awake every night. Because of his nagging wife, he couldn't go out with his friends and he found no peace at home. In short, Bandera found himself in a hopeless situation.

He was thus led to begin thinking about suicide. However, he gave this very careful thought, planning to counter this act in such a way that suicide would never be suspected but that, on the contrary, would lead to various interpretations and suspicions that he was liquidated by the communists, thus permitting him to remain a hero. Recent events presented an opportune time for him to commit suicide, specifically:

a. A former member of the Krai leadership Furiyga-Furdyg-Zhechytsky, who two years ago escaped to the west via Poland and Vienna, admitted to the SB that he was sent by the KGB to bring Kashuba to East Berlin. Another group of individuals were also sent to the west in order to penetrate Bandera's group.

b. At the request of the SB, while I was in Paris, I prepared a short analysis on the subject of why the Soviets could start terrorist activities in the west. Having analyzed all the recent happenings in the Ukraine (the court proceedings in Radybylov, Stanislov and other cities, etc) I came to the conclusion that Soviets might start terrorist activities. I requested that everyone keep alert. Bandera read my analysis.

c. Verlovka's Ukrainian nationalist chorus was in Munich at that time and Soviet diplomats from Bonn were present. Therefore this was a good time to commit suicide and place the blame on the Soviets. Bandera knew that nobody would suspect that he might take his own life. Bandera began to avoid his bodyguards. It appears that Bandera considered suicide several days earlier because he had been bidding farewell to his guards at the entrance to his home and entering the elevator alone. Here he would hide behind the elevator and watch to see if the bodyguards did actually leave.

2 May 1960

He chose not to commit suicide in the office so that he wouldn't inconvenience the employees and members of the Zch/OUN. He didn't choose his home, in order not to inconvenience his wife, although she was the cause of his hopeless situation and also saw that she could not testify to the fact that it was suicide.

It is a fact that Bandera had a violent quarrel with his wife that very morning. He threatened suicide and left home to go to the office before 8 a.m.

Bandera employed the use of potassium cyanide which he always carried on his person and which, after his death, could not be found either on his person or in his home. Considering the above, I concluded that it was suicide by use of potassium cyanide. Motive: his unbearable marital situation.

If anyone proves to me that the situation was other than that which I have summarized above, I shall never again take any interest in either political or intelligence work. However, I am certain that no one will prove me wrong. I think that the German commission which is composed of professional individuals will come to the same conclusion, even though all the information that was available to me will not be available to them. It was not in the KGB interest to have Bandera liquidated at this time. On the contrary, Bandera's death interfered with KGB plans for compromising the Zch/OUN.

The KGB was successful in getting Bandera to postpone the Zch/OUN conference and plan for a big congress of the Zch/OUN in 1960. A major group of OUN members from the Ukraine headed by Myron Matviyeyko were supposed to arrive for this congress. Only part of this group (about 15 individuals) were supposed to return to the Ukraine. The others including Myron Matviyeyko were to remain in the West. Whether or not, in view of the latest development, the KGB will be able to continue its game of sending a delegation from the Ukraine to a congress is difficult to foresee.

Attachment B to EGMA-48974

27 May 1960

1 January 1960

Subject: The Death of Stefan BANDERA and Incidents at Radio
Free Europe, TsOPE and Zeppelinstrasse

Source of Information: Personal Comments

1. The unexpected and unexplained death of the head of Zch/OUN, Stefan Bandera, has stirred up much speculation among his friends as well as his enemies. To date, the exact circumstances of his death are not clear. While my private investigations and the investigations by the German criminal police seem to point up the fact that Stefan Bandera committed suicide because of marital circumstances, the Zch/OUN is trying desperately to prove that Stefan Bandera was murdered by the Soviets.

In support of the Zch/OUN version and the recent efforts to poison employees of RFE with atropine: This effort to poison RFE employees with atropine gave the Zch/OUN a good argument. It supposedly offered proof that Soviet and Satellite intelligence organizations were employing the use of poison in their fight against their enemies.

Further activities bolster the Zch/OUN accusations that Bandera died at the hands of his enemies. Here I have in mind the bombing of the former TsOPE building and the bombing incident of the Zch/OUN building at Zeppelinstrasse 67. All this supposedly factually proves that the Soviets carried out an act of war against the Zch/OUN, the NIS, TsOPE and RFE.

My personal thought regarding these matters is as follows. All these incidents are independent of each other and concern completely different matters.

a. Regarding the poisoning of the employees of RFE. This is a typical example of American careerists in Europe which stems from their mentality of "how to make a mountain out of a molehill." The Czech intelligence, or perhaps even Yaroslav Nemets personally decided to send a fly into RFE. The American administrators of this establishment tried to turn the fly into an elephant. However, their efforts left only a bad taste. What I believe in connection with this and what I do not believe:

(1) I believe that the Czech intelligence officer in Salzburg, Yaroslav Nemets, could have made contact with an employee of RFE or infiltrate one of his own agents.

(2) I believe that the employee could have been working for both sides; i.e., play along with the Czechs for the benefit of the Americans.

(3) I believe that this double agent received from Nemets atropine with instructions to put it in small doses into the salt shakers in the RFE cafeteria.

(4) I believe that this atropine was not supposed to kill anyone of the members but only to produce delirium tremens, and also that it was designated for a large number of the salt shakers and not only for two of them.

(5) I believe that the above-mentioned agent, having received this atropine and appropriate instructions on how to proceed, reported this fact to his chief and turned the matter over to his control. Here the matter should have ended. Instead, purely for political reasons (to wit, from the conviction that one must make a mountain out of a molehill), the Americans realizing what kind of poison they have to deal with told the agent to put it into only two of the shakers and when the poison was put into the shakers, the salt shakers were confiscated and the propaganda activities against Czech intelligence was initiated by the Americans. The Americans stated that they told the truth but they didn't tell the whole truth. They publicized the matter in fantasy form.

The benefits could be such: Take advantage of the opportunity to get PP play against the Communist Czechs, and prove to RFE financiers that RFE broadcasts most harmful to the Satellites since the Czechs tried to poison employees of the institution.

The harmful aspects: American intelligence opened itself to criticism that it was seeking sensations. I do not intend to state what steps I would have taken in this situation but I would not have stopped this game so readily and in such fashion.

b. Regarding the TsOPE Bombing. First, a few comments about TsOPE. TsOPE, created by the NIS, is financed by the Americans. It is guided by the Communists, more specifically, by the KGB. If anyone thinks differently, then they will sooner or later become convinced that they were wrong. The TsOPE bombing incident is in no way, except merely coincidentally, connected with the death of Stefan Bandera and with the poisoning incident at RFE.

The two largest rival organizations in the West are Zch/OUN and NIS. The difference is that the Zch/OUN for some time now is financing its own activities, while the NIS takes its money from anyone it can, chiefly from the Americans, then from the British and perhaps also from another third source.

The NIS like the Zch/OUN claims that it carries on its activities in the USSR, that it maintains contact with a net in the USSR, has at its disposal cadres in the West willing at any time to go to the USSR, etc. In short, the NIS claims to be one of the greatest emigre threats to the KGB, that the Zch/OUN in comparison with the NIS means nothing. That also is the opinion of the majority of the American patrons of the NIS.

2 May 1960

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And now suddenly the KGB murders not an NTS leader but the less dangerous Stefan Bandera. There are suicides here and suicides there, but most of the world press is convinced that Bandera was murdered by Communists. If that is true, then it means that the Zch/OUN and Bandera were a greater threat than the NTS and, God forbid, the American financiers will be so convinced and will redirect their aid from the NTS to the Zch/OUN. Therefore the NTSniks decided to plant a bomb in the empty TsOPE building and in this way prove that they are no lesser threat (to the KGB) than the Zch/OUN.

This is so obvious that it is not necessary for one to be a counter-intelligence man in order to understand what is really behind it. The NTSniks wanted to prove that the NTS is no less a revolutionary organization than the Zch/OUN and that their organization is as much a threat to the KGB as is the Zch/OUN. However, the NTS obviously was lacking in other new ideas because they repeated one of their old songs which is so familiar to us all.

In the past year (or perhaps even in the early part of this year) an attempt was made against the NTS radio and that took place after the radio was moved to another point, actually two days later. After TsOPE moved new luxurious quarters, a bombing incident took place in their old building. It occurs that no one is ever harmed in these (TsOPE and NTS) bombings.

Please believe me, if the KGB were to take any action, it would do so at a more appropriate time, not two days later, and the desired results would be obvious. I considered the stink bomb placed at the Zch/OUN building several hours earlier was to serve the NTS purpose: That is to prove that the KGB places harmful bombs in their (NTS) buildings but only smokes out the Zch/OUN with stink bombs.

2 Dec. 1960

ATTACHMENT C to EGMA 48874, 4 January 1960

SUBJECT: The Visit by the Oberkommissar of the German Criminal
Police, Adrian FUCHS

From conversations with Ivan KASHUBA it was evident that the police investigations of BANDERA's death were being handled by a young, very energetic Oberkommissar, Adrian FUCHS. I also learned from KASHUBA that FUCHS had interviewed at least fifty people regarding this matter. Adrian FUCHS telephoned on 8 December 1959 and asked me whether he could visit me and talk about the subject of BANDERA's death. I agreed, and on Thursday, 10 December 1959, my first conversation with FUCHS took place in my home.

Mr. FUCHS told me that from conversations with various individuals, he learned that I was a friend of S. BANDERA and that I could express some opinions regarding his death. I told Mr. FUCHS that I was in Munich at that time and that I had been living in Paris, France, for some time now, but that I could discuss with him and analyze with him the various statements regarding BANDERA's death.

I told him of the five versions known to me (see my other report), and we analyzed these various versions. Noting my objectivity in this regard, FUCHS told me that he was convinced that not only the members of the SB--KASHUBA and MUDRYK-- but also all members of the Zeh/OUN leadership were keeping certain facts from the Criminal Police, facts which could bring to light the true cause of BANDERA's death. He stated that

suicide was undoubtedly involved, and that for obvious political reasons, the Banderites didn't want this fact to become known.

Further, the German Police have facts which indicate that the Banderites forbade certain individuals to reveal any facts of S. BANDERA's case. The police questioned this, and they came to the conclusion that statements made by these people tended to bring to light the facts in this case. These individuals are Dmytro MYSEKIV, Sephan LENKAVSKY, and Vasyl NINOVSKY. Besides this, BANDERA's wife was very talkative at first and revealed certain facts (as for instance, the fact that BANDERA always carried cyanide on his person). She later stated that she could not verify this fact. It was evident that the Zch/CUN had forbidden her to talk.

FUCHS was so impressed with our three-hour conversation that he told me this talk gave him more satisfaction and more facts than the one hundred conversations he held with other individuals and that it convinced him his analysis to date was correct. He told me that I could easily replace a member of the commission engaged in the investigation of BANDERA's death.

FUCHS met with me again on 17 December 1959, at which time he was more reserved. At first, I didn't know the reason, but later KASHUBA explained. During the second interview of BENTISAL, BENTISAL noticed on FUCHS's desk a sheet of yellow paper on which was written in German the fact that M. KORZHAN of Paris was head of the commission investigating the circumstances of BANDERA's death. It also listed Volodymyr DEYCHAKIVSKIY of Canada and KASHUBA of Munich as members.

Later FUCHS asked BENTSAL whether KORZHAN was head of the commission investigating the circumstances of BANDERA's death, and whether DEYCHAKIVSKIY and KUSHUBA were members of the commission. BENTSAL replied that he was not a member of Zch/OUN, and he didn't know whether or not I was a member of this commission.

At another time, FUCHS plainly told me that the German Criminal Police Commission had become convinced that BANDERA committed suicide. The commission had not established the motive, but they were on the right track. He stated that it appears, in spite of the denials of members of the SB and other members of the Zch/OUN leadership, that S. BANDERA had a difficult home life and that he spent much time in the company of other women. Although I didn't give him any definite details, I assured FUCHS that in my humble opinion the police were on the right track and that it was necessary to investigate further.

I reassured him that BANDERA's home life was unpleasant, especially as a result of his association with other women. FUCHS promised to visit me after completion of the investigation of all the details, but to date I have not heard from him.

2 May 1960

ATTACHMENT D TO EGMA 48874, 4 JANUARY 1960

SUBJECT: Ivan KASHUBA's comments regarding BANDERA's last moments of life.

SOURCE OF INFORMATION: Ivan KASHUBA

In support of my arguments that BANDERA committed suicide, I add the following:

Ivan KASHUBA told me ^{four} years ago that there were two Jewish families living in the house where BANDERA lived. One of the families maintained a young German nursemaid for their two children. S. BANDERA was in love with this young girl and spent many a sleepless night just thinking about her. He used every occasion to meet her and talk to her, and as Ivan KASHUBA said, it was possible that he met with her secretly at night without the knowledge of his wife or her employer. It is a fact that BANDERA's wife learned about this flirtation and treated this girl with much contempt. On the morning of 15 October, BANDERA's wife quarrelled bitterly with him over this girl. Because of this quarrel BANDERA left home fifteen minutes earlier than he had planned. His wife shouted after him, "Just wait, when you get home for lunch, I'll finish my prayer for you."

It is also a fact that BANDERA died by the door of this Jewish family, and the young German nursemaid was the first to come into the corridor, and as a trained nurse, she began to wash the blood off ^{away from} ~~his~~ ^{his mouth - mark} BANDERA was still half alive and held her hand tightly. It is possible that he purposely chose to die on her doorstep.

Stepan LENKANS'KY knows a lot about this love of BANDERA for the nursemaid, but he does not wish to talk about it. He didn't even tell KASHUBA about it.

